1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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One encounters in even the oldest inscriptions and the oldest images much that is reminiscent of India. Sanskrit, an Indian script, Buddhist religious formulas, and Brahmanic rites appear to have been known. The rulers – for example Kesarī – (*circa* 913 A.D.), the first of a dynasty called Warmadewa[3] – have Sanskrit names. There are images of the Hindu gods (a Çiwa, for example, and a few centuries later a four-headed Brahmā) and of characters from the great epics (for instance Arjuna, one of the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*). The oldest dated inscription is from 882 A.D., and the oldest images are probably from the period of the eighth to the tenth century.[4]

In brief, the data now available are sufficient to convince scholars in the field that Bali had its share in the great stream of Indian culture that washed over the southeast Asian mainland and Indonesia in the first centuries of our era. In this connection it is customary to speak of 'Hindunization' and 'Hindu' periods in the history of the lands concerned. These terms should not be understood as being restricted to Hinduism as a religion, however. The Buddhist temple Barabudur in central Java, for instance, is considered as one of the 'Hindu' monuments of early Java. 'Hindu', then, is in this connection a designation for everything related to the culture and religion of the India of that day. Java had such a Hindu period, called the Hindu-Javanese; Sumatra, Cambodia, and Burma likewise. And Bali also appears to belong in that list.

How this Hindu influence is to be explained cannot be said with any certainty. It is clear that it had something to do with the commercial relations which India maintained with China and other lands of the Far East. That trade brought knowledge of India and contact with and respect for Indian culture and religion to Sumatra and Java. However, the nature of the Hindu elements found in Indonesia makes it highly improbable that their diffusion can be explained solely or chiefly by trade. Rather, it is now assumed that Indonesian rulers wished to associate themselves with Indian culture, and for that purpose were able to attract Brahmanic priests, the representatives of Indian culture *par excellence*, to

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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their courts. The priests gave to such an Indonesian ruler a Brahmanic consecration, and often a genealogy tracing back to the Indian gods or heroes. In that way they strengthened the ruler's position in the eyes of foreign traders. Moreover the Brahmins helped to model the court, chancellery, and administration after those of India.[1] Alongside these political and economic factors there were also religious factors of importance. The Indian Brahmins played a decisive rôle in the Hindu soteriological doctrines, and in Indonesia also they appeared in this rôle.[2]

The Balinese data fit into this general picture of Hinduization. Whether we may assume that trade was an initial link in the case of Bali is, however, an open question. Regarding the other Hinduized regions we know that there were a number of what were for those times important commercial centres where international trade was carried on. But there is no evidence of the sort for Bali in the early period, and later, roughly from the fifteenth century on, the data point in the opposite direction: Bali played what was at best a subordinate rôle in the international trade of the time.

If trade is to be ruled out, are we to think in terms of an indirect influence, *via* a neighbouring land that was already Hinduized? For the early period there is no evidence either way. From the eleventh century onwards, however, this possibility definitely needs to be taken into consideration, primarily on the basis of epigraphic data. The earliest inscriptions were written in Old Balinese (a language clearly the ancestor of present-day Balinese) interspersed with a great many Sanskrit terms. But shortly after 1000 A.D. the situation changed. From that time onwards inscriptions written in Old Javanese began to appear. From this it can be deduced that by then Old Javanese had become the language of court and administration on Bali. This would point towards a strong influence of the Hindu-Javanese realms and their culture on Bali. In keeping with this is the fact, substantiated by Javanese and Balinese inscriptions, that in that period a ruler of the Balinese dynasty of the Warmadewas was married to an

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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eastern Javanese princess. She was considered of higher rank than her husband, as appears for example from the fact that she is mentioned before her husband in the edicts,[7] and that one of her sons bears titles corresponding to those in his mother's family, not to those in the family of his father, as normally would have been the case. Another son, Erlangga, became ruler of the eastern Javanese realm (1019–1042); his younger brothers (or half-brothers) ruled on Bali. A series of their edicts dating from the years 1022–1077 has been preserved.[8] Together, these facts constitute sufficient reason to assume that in the period at hand there were such close political ties between eastern Java and Bali that strong cultural influence would naturally follow.

It is, then, not absolutely necessary to explain the Hindu elements in the culture of Bali during and since that period by direct contact with India; they can at least as easily have been the result of an indirect influence, *via* the intermediary of Hindu-Javanese culture. But be that as it may, this period (*circa* 1000–1343) can be characterized as the Hindu-Balinese period of older Balinese history.

From the end of the eleventh century onwards Old Javanese became the usual language of the inscriptions, and this fact would seem to indicate a lasting cultural influence. Politically, however, the ties were by no means firm. There is reference to a successful expedition from eastern Java against Bali in 1284,[9] but not long afterwards inscriptions were again issued on Bali by rulers who showed no signs of political dependence on Java. The last of them, in 1337, bore the lengthy name of Aṣṭāsura-ratna bumi-bantĕn.[10]

Following this sketch of the results of modern research, let us return for a moment to the legend with which this chapter began. We can now better appreciate its relative truth. The *Usana Bali* presents the origins of what the author viewed as Balinese culture in a picture which, taken mythically, is not incorrect. The gods may in reality have been Brahmanic priests, and their forerunners Indian traders, but the tale retains a core of truth. And it presents a view of Bali's past which has fashioned the thinking of many a

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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the *paibon*, and to the demonic powers of the four directions by means of the monument in the pond in the inner court. The pond also accentuates the character of the temple as a place where contact with the suprasensory world can be achieved through the intermediary of the *widadaris*. The altars indicate a relationship with the other state sanctuaries of Mĕngwi (the mountain temples of Bon and Tiingan and the sanctuary of origin at Kapal), while there are also links with the sea temples of Ulu Batu and Sĕkenan.

Still to be considered is Pura Prasada at Kapal. The *desa* of Kapal is a short distance to the southeast of the district seat of Mĕngwi, the former capital of the realm.

There are a number of antiquities within the territory of the village. Among these are several statues arranged beside the bathing place in the ravine near the river. This bathing place is well known because there is a pond in its temple where large tame eels are kept (as is also the case in Pura Lingsar in western Lombok); there is also a big stone fish-elephant, but it is of recent date. Stutterheim has described various Buddhist antiquities discovered in the vicinity.[4] A further object of interest is a second small bathing place in the immediate neighbourhood of the residential part of the village which is called Kajuan Kundi after a large hewn-stone water container (*kĕndi*) with an excellently ornamented waterspout. In the background Rama is depicted sitting on a bench patterned after a *sanggar agung*. In the foreground the epic hero is portrayed once more, this time in company with Hanuman and Gĕntayu (Jatayu). Underneath this depiction is the surface from which the spout protrudes. The sculpture there portrays Rahwana with his cudgel in his right hand and with his left arm embracing Sita, seated on the mount Wilmana, whose beak serves as the spout proper.

The chief antiquities of the village, however, are to be found in Pura Prasada, and consist of a number of fragments of sculpture and a split gate ornamented with a large monster's head which was restored by the Archeological Survey in the latter half of 1949. Until recently there was nothing but a crumbled base and

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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361 a few fragments left of the former *prasada*, the tower-shaped brick
172 structure from which the sanctuary took its name. The structure was completely destroyed during the great earthquake of 1917. Now a new *prasada* has been built by the people of the *desa* at the place where the former one stood. The way in which it was constructed deserves brief mention. Data for the notes which follow have been borrowed from an article by Dronkers, supplemented by information acquired on the spot.[1]

792 The direct stimulus to the restoration was the fact that the *barong*
789 stored in one of the temple buildings in the southeast corner of the inner court caught fire as a result of carelessness. A number of larger *puras* have a *barong* which is kept in a separate building on the temple grounds. Examples are Pura Pĕnataran Sasih at Pejeng, which is known for its extraordinarily large kettle drum, and Pura Tambangan Badung near Den Pasar. An important rôle as regards the *barong* is played by Pura Pĕngĕrebongan at Kĕsiman, where once every Balinese-Javanese year of two hundred ten days, on Sunday-Pon in the week of Mĕdangsia, the *barongs* from the country around are assembled in large numbers to be consecrated anew. It has not been sufficiently studied whether the *barong* may belong to one temple in particular, for example in view of the cycle of legends associated with it. In any case it can be said that the *barong* (and the *barong* play) are attributed great power in banishing evil influences.

The burning of the *barong* at Kapal provided the direct stimulus to restoring the *prasada*. Within the framework of Balinese thought this reason is a quite acceptable one. In many cases the restoration of a temple is only begun if a command has been received from the deity. Such a divine pronouncement is made known by means of a medium. Especially in times of disease, pestilence, and disaster people are on the lookout to be informed of their possible shortcomings vis-à-vis the world of the gods by means of such divine pronouncements.

792 The restoration of Pura Prasada required a great deal of sacrifice
185 in money and labour: Dronkers mentions the sum of a hundred fifty thousand guilders. The spectacular plan of restoration has

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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was never enough food to feed him and he went about eating people. To provide him with a place to sleep, the villagers of Taro built the longest council house in Bali. He is supposed to have carved all the ancient monuments and sculptured caves with his own fingernails. In the highlands between the Batur and the Bratan, the Gunung Agung and the Batukau, there are many Bali Aga villages, and in some, like Selulung, Batukaang, and Tjatur, there are remains of ancient and primitive monuments; stone statues and small pyramids, some of which are purely Indonesian in character, while others show early Hindu, perhaps Buddhist influence. In the Bali Aga villages there is much that remains of the ancient race who once inhabited all of Bali, but who were to become the fascinating Balinese of today.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF BALI

It seems difficult to reconcile the soft-mannered, peace-loving Balinese we know with the intrigue and violence of their turbulent past. For a thousand years the history of the island is a series of wars and heroic episodes that reached a dramatic climax only thirty years ago when the Balinese made a desperate but futile last stand against a modern army.

Bali was under the rule of Javanese kings from the earliest days of Hindu Java, but we first hear of Balinese dynasties in the tenth century of our era. In 991 A.D. a child was born of a Balinese king and a Javanese princess. He was named Erlangga and was sent to Java to marry a princess and to become a local chief in the kingdom of his father-in-law. Dharmawangsa, the ruler, was murdered suddenly and Erlangga took charge, saving the kingdom from total collapse and bringing it into even greater glory. Erlangga ruled during thirty difficult years, creating a strong bond between Java and his native Bali, which was then governed by Erlangga's brother in his name. Then, as befits a model hero of Hindu ideas, Erlangga suddenly renounced the kingdom he had made great and died a hermit under the guidance of his religious teacher, Mpú Bharada. Erlangga's kingdom was nearly

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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were built, the Buddhist *Borobudur* and the Sivaist *Lora Djo-ngrang* in Prambanan. Soon this great civilization disappeared mysteriously and Bali came under the rule of independent kings

Tjilí of Palm-Leaf from the Top of an Offering

in Pedjeng and Bedulu. From their time we have remains of the classic style in the neighbourhood of the present villages of the same names, some in ruined temples, in caves, or among the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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175 53 [172] ricefields, in the strip of land between the rivers Pakrisan and Petanú, where so many of the antiquities of Bali are found. Towards the beginning of the eleventh century there was a renaissance in East Java, in Kediri, brought about by the Balinese-born king Erlangga. Under him Bali became again an in-

[531]

Tjilís from *Lamaks*

tegral part of Java and classicism received a new impetus. It was Erlangga who instituted Javanese as the official language of Bali. Tantric black magic seems to have played an important part in Erlangga's time, and while he was having trouble with his greatest political enemy, his own mother, who had sworn to destroy his kingdom by the black arts, Erlangga's brother ruled Bali in his name. This brother was buried (according to Stutterheim) in the spectacular "Kings' tombs" in *Gunung Kawi* near Tampaksiring.

172 211 Among the important relics of the ancient period are the following:

[Text continues on page 176]

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172 211 **Gunung Kawi:** On the banks of the river Pakrisan, descending a steep ravine, is a group of sober, undecorated monuments shaped like the ancient burial towers (*tjandí*), hewn out of the solid rock, each inside of a niche, four on one side and five on the other. To the right of the main group is a sort of monastery with coves also carved out of the rock, arranged around a central cell with a platform in the centre. The monuments are supposed to belong to the eleventh [764] century, when cremation had not yet been introduced into Bali, and Lekkerkerker thinks the cells were probably destined to expose the corpses to be obliterated by decay and wild animals, such as was the custom among Indonesians, and as is still practised in Sembiran in Bali and by the Toradjas in Celebes, where it is now forbidden by the Dutch. The monuments were only discovered in 1920, but the Balinese knew them, and saw them with reverence because they attributed them to the giant of mythical times, Kbo Iwá, who is supposed to have carved all the ancient monuments with his own fingernails. The natives formerly called the tombs *Djalú*, but the present place-name, *Gunung Kawi*, means " mountain of poetry " or " mountain of antiquity."

172 532 **Bukit Darma:** In Kutrí near Bedulu there is another antiquity of the classic period, also related to Erlangga. It is the beautiful statue of Mahendradatta, Erlangga's mother, as the goddess of death, Durga. It is preserved in the sanctuary of *Bukit Darma*, which archæologists believe to be the burial site of Erlangga's mother. The statue is badly worn, but it can still be seen that it was of the purest classic lines.

Goa Gadja: Together with *Gunung Kawi*, the best known relic of the ancient art is the famous " Elephant Cave " near Bedulu. *Goa Gadja* is a great hollowed rock, perhaps the former residence of a hermit, elaborately carved on the outside, covered with representations of stylized rocks, forests, waves, animals, and people running in panic because directly over the entrance is the head of a great monster with bulging eyes who splits the rock with his enormous fat hands. Nieuwenkamp says that it may represent Pasupati, who divided the mountain Mahameru into two parts and, taking them in his hands, placed each half in Bali as the Gunung Agung and the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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172 532 Batur. There are a number of ancient stone water-spouts outside the cave, and on the inside is a statue of Ganesa in a central niche, with a linga on either side. The Goa Gadja dates also from the

[531]

Sapsap, Tjilí Faces cut out of Palm-Leaf

eleventh century and perhaps receives the popular name of "Elephant Cave" because of the statue, inside, of the god Ganesa, shaped like an elephant. But Goris attributes the name to the fact [103] that the river Petanu, which runs near the cave, was called in old times *Lwa Gadja*, the "elephant river." Elephants have never ex-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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Elephants have never ex-
172 isted in Bali and the elephant motifs that appear so frequently in
332 Balinese art were importations from India or Java. As of Gunung
[136] Kawi, Kbo Iwá is also, according to popular belief, the author of the cave. Other hermitages with rock reliefs are the one near by called Toya Pulú; the Goa Racksasa near Ubud; Djakut Pakú, both on the river Oös (Uwos); and the caves near Kapal in Badung.

Pedjeng: In the ricefields approaching Pedjeng there is a beautiful stone water-spout in the shape of a youthful hermit holding in his hand a small human figure out of whose body once issued a stream of water. Farther on, in what appears to be the former site of a temple, are scattered fragments of classic statues; an altar of human skulls; the vague silhouette of a slim woman, covered with damp moss, fallen and half buried. The most complete statue is that of a wild raksasa crowned with skulls and about to drink from a larger, stylized human skull. In *Pura Panataran Sasíh*, the temple where the bronze drum is kept, there are a number of ancient statues, the majority being commemorative statues of former kings.

Panulisan: In the ruins of pura *Panulisan* on the mountain of the same name, are some fine statues of kings from the eleventh century.
[778] The temple was destroyed by an earthquake and despite the fact that it is regarded as of great holiness, an extravagant stairway of cement has been built to reach it, but the temple has not been repaired. Today one may visit the ruins only with a written permit from the local pungawa.

Other statues worthy of mention are the figures of Durga in the temple *Pondjok Batú* on the road to Tedjakula in North Bali and the great statue of *Dewa Ratú Pantjering Djagat*, over twelve feet high, the largest statue in Bali, kept jealously out of sight in the tower (*meru*) of the temple Trunyan, a Bali Aga
[778] village on the eastern shore of Lake Batur. The statue is considered very old and is held to have magic power. No one is allowed even to go into the tower, unless it is the selected "virgin" boys (*truna*) of the village, who on certain dates clean and paint the statue with a mixture of chalk, honey, and water,
[114] accompanied by elaborate carefully observed ceremonials. An

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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excellent description of this interesting feast has been written by Walter Spies in "Das Grosse Fest auf Trunjan" (see Bibliography). The ancient Balinese also left a number of ancient bronzes cast by the *cire perdue* process, some in the form

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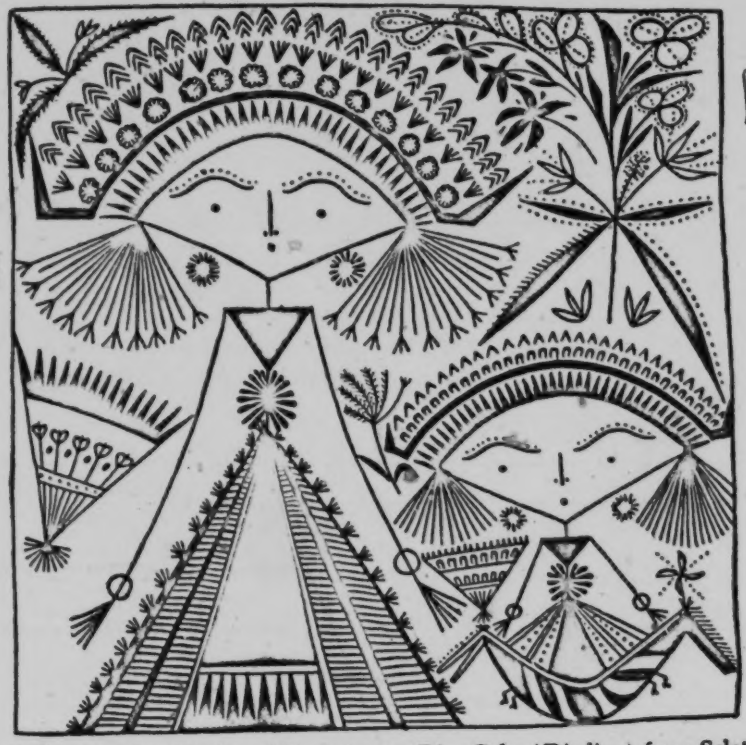

Tjilís painted in Black and Fuchsia on a Rice Cake (*Djadjan*) from Selat

of plates with inscriptions, drums, and little statues of deities and kings, some classic in style like the beautiful ones found in Java, others of a more primitive, perhaps local style. All of these antiquities are not in museums, but are still the property of the people, kept in the temples and honoured because of their antiquity, brought out of their wrappings once a year on the occasion of the temple feast of the village.

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[237 cont.]
is very small. From the dated inscriptions, these appear to be chiefly from the thirteenth Çaka century, and thus from the Hindu-Javanese period; hence it would appear that there are no traces left of the old Hindu-Sumatran kingdoms. The principal Hindu relics were found in the Padang Highlands (the west coast residency of Sumatra). The most important are the Buddhist stupa Chandi Bongsoe-at Moeara, Takoes on the Kampar River, and the same kind of monument near Tandjoeng Médan. Furthermore, brick ruins, known to the natives by the name biarê (biara), are found here, as well as in the Residency of Tapanoeli; the Biara Si-Pamoetoeng in Tapanoeli at the mouth of the Panei River is of considerable size.

In the Palembang Residency, the subdivision [238] Lematang Ilir is the chief place of interest with chandis at Tanah Abang, Pandan, and Batoe Radja, and images at various places. In the Residency Jambi the chief relics are found in the vicinity of the capital.

In various residencies on Sumatra, including Riau and Bangka, various inscriptions, images, golden objects, etc. have also been found.

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Of greater importance from the point of view of the archaeologist are the antiquities of Bali and west Lombok; these include the remains of a chandi with a Sivaist image and a candi (see p. 243) at Boekti, Boelèlèng Division, copper plates with dates running from the beginning of the tenth to the end of the twelfth century, A.D., old bronze objects, etc. In quite recent times, rock dwellings and tombs with decorative sculpture have been discovered at Tampak-Siring (southern Bali), as well as a relief, 27 meters high and hewn in rock, together with a hermitage, Tojo Poeloeh, discovered at Bedoeloe, Gianjar Subdivision (southern Bali).

Of the other provinces outside Java and Madura, the southern and eastern divisions of Borneo are really the only places where anything of interest has been found, and then almost exclusively in the Kutai Subdivision (see p. 262). It must not be forgotten, however, that most of the outer provinces have not yet been